

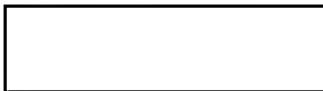
25X1

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Office Functioning: The Production of
Acceptable Copy for OCI

1. The work of OCI can be divided into two broad, general categories: first, to report and analyze current developments and assess their significance; and second, to communicate these analyses and assessments effectively to those we affectionately and capitalistically call our consumers. Both of these functions are basic to our existence. If our analysis is faulty, we will not long be listened to. And if it is good, but we communicate it feebly, we will not be heard. We are concerned here with problems related to the second of these two fundamental activities.
2. Because communication is vital to us, we spend much time and energy on the effort to perform it skilfully. We try, at least, to hire analysts who we think "can write". Then, because we find that many of them can't, we appoint PO's to massage their spavined prose, hoping that thus it can be made to gallop, bravely bearing the burden of our thinking into the camp of the reader. Branch chiefs curry it; some division chiefs even put the spur to it. Production Staff editors have a go at it, and someone in the Front Office reviews it. Then off it goes, even after so much treatment all too often hobble-gaited, limping where we had thought it might sprint.
3. Why is this? Since so many hands at all levels are involved, it seems pretty obvious that the blame for a poor show must be shared. Likewise the glory, if any, for a good one. Perhaps a look at what ought reasonably to be expected from each type of officer involved in the entire productive process would point the way to improving it.
4. THE ANALYST It all begins, of course, with the analyst, upon whom falls the formidable double task of first formulating the assessment and then clothing

25X1



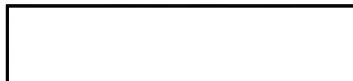
it in such language as will convey it easily and unambiguously to the mind of the reader. It would be difficult to magnify the importance of the analyst's role in this process, because the adage "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" is certainly apposite to his draft. Unfortunately, most of the activities to be dealt with subsequently are designed to do just that. They are never more than marginally successful if they deal with a genuine, indubitable sow's ear, especially given the short time usually available for the conversion.

Ideally, the analyst would report for duty not only a substantive genius but also an accomplished writer. His prose would be lucid, logically organized, compact, well proportioned, properly emphasized. Beyond that, it would have grace, color, and charm, even wit; in short it would be artistic. In and of itself it would interest and attract the reader, not repel him, baffle him, or put him to sleep.

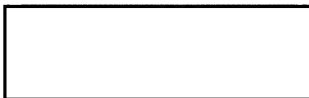
But here we are dealing with reality. How many writers of that caliber do we actually have on our rolls? They can perhaps be counted on one finger--maybe even on a joint thereof. So, since we must content ourselves with something less than the ideal, let us ask ourselves what we in the real OCI have a right to expect from our journeyman writers.

The analyst's draft ought to be relatively free of the grossest grammatical blunders, such as dangling constructions, disagreements in number between subject and verb, pronouns without referents, sentence fragments, and the like. Paragraphs should be fairly tightly constructed, dealing with one topic and not a miscellany of unrelated ones. The entire item should be put together in such a way that the argument flows naturally from one paragraph to the next, making it apparent that the author had a logical structure in mind when he commenced to write. Economy of words should be practiced, cliches, jargon, and inept figures of speech avoided. When he is finished with the draft, the analyst should be able to run through it again, putting himself to some degree in the reader's place, to see whether it really says what he meant it to say. One of the most serious problems with these drafts is that they too often contain passages that say nothing at all, say contradictory things, or say something other than what the author intended.

25X1



25X1



If the analyst can do all these things, his draft should be a good one, and the rest should be easy. But one must assume, from experience, that he can't. Hence the PO.

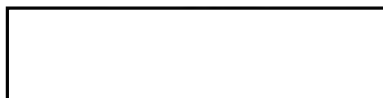
5. THE PO* The PO in most cases takes the first editorial cut at the analyst's draft, and it should be a sharp and thorough one. It should, at a minimum, reduce gross grammatical errors to close to zero. Not that the PO is expected to be a professional editor, but he should have sufficient mastery of the language and of the art of writing, and should devote enough attention to the draft, to accomplish at least this much.

More important than this, however, is his responsibility for ensuring that the draft effectively carries the message it is supposed to carry. Like the analyst, the PO is substantive. He knows what is going on, in less detail than the analyst or Branch Chief to be sure, but well enough, nevertheless, to understand what points ought to be made about a given situation. Moreover, he is likely to have a comprehension superior to that of the analyst of what the Office and Directorate want emphasized or played down and which aspects of the situation require detailed and which general treatment. His view of the draft should be more detached than that of either analyst or Branch Chief. The analyst may not necessarily see the forest for the trees; the PO necessarily has to. All this means that the PO should be able to restructure the analyst's draft so that emphasis is put where it belongs and the treatment is balanced. He may have to expand--or get the analyst to expand--parts of it. He should mercilessly slash excess verbiage. And in doing all this, he should not damage, but rather enhance, the substance of the piece. He may even, by his deft use of language, be able to introduce some elements of art into the draft. It is a demanding task.

It is up to the PO, as well, to keep production moving, as executive agent of the Division Chief to cajole or press the analyst into meeting his deadlines. And he

*See Annex I

25X1



25X1

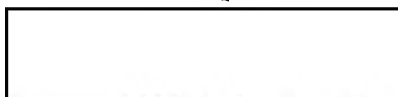


must perform his own surgery with sufficient dispatch to meet Office and Agency deadlines. He serves as a conveyor belt for instructions from the Division or Office chief or higher echelons to the analyst, and he had better get them right. And he acts as the analysts' broker in dealing with the Office over the analysts' work--and he had better do that diplomatically as well as efficiently. He will also, of course, have his own ideas about production, and he should seek to have them implemented, dealing primarily in this instance through his Division and Branch chiefs. He should carefully monitor the production of his Division so that he can advise the Division Chief that reporting is being maintained when it should be and cut off when the story is stale or terminated.

Pride of authorship being what it is, and our analysts being strong-minded as they are, the PO's job can be a pretty difficult one unless he has the stature and muscle to command the analysts' respect. Lacking such qualifications, he can either let shoddy work slide through knowing that it will be corrected elsewhere, or keep running to the Division chief for his imprimatur, which would soon prove self-defeating. If in addition to all his other qualities he has tact and understanding as well, he should do his work effectively and produce items that will need little additional massaging to make them a credit to the office.

6. BRANCH CHIEF It may seem that the activities of the PO and the Branch Chief in the field under consideration overlap. In fact, they do to a degree, but this is not necessarily bad. There are also differences.

The PO has responsibilities pertaining to the production of an entire Division; the Branch Chief's pertain to his own Branch. As regards the latter, both PO and Branch Chief have substantive responsibilities, though the PO's may be considered derivative and the Branch Chief's primary. To put it in another way, the PO is less responsible than the Branch Chief for substance per se, but more for presenting that substance in such a way that its essential nature is accurately conveyed to the reader. In other words, the PO has editorial responsibilities not



25X1

fully shared by the Branch Chief, while the latter has command authority not shared by the former.

The Office must look largely to the Branch Chief to prod the analysts into improving their product, to make them realize that they can't get away with shoddy output. He should check their drafts for completeness and for validity of analysis. The analysts should be able to look to him for guidance and advice on what is significant, what is relevant. He and the PO both should justify major revisions to the analyst, who may then learn something from the editorial process. Doubtless the learning process would be accelerated if the revisions were explained by the Branch Chief rather than the PO, who in many instances will have made them.

There's not much point in laying down hard and fast rules on routine handling of drafts, because time pressure or other circumstances would probably force violations of such rules even as they were being enunciated. But if it were possible, the draft should probably go from the analyst to the Branch Chief to the PO for tailoring, and from the PO through the Branch Chief back to the analyst for a quick check, then out. Consultations could occur at any stage, time allowing.

7. DIVISION CHIEF The attitude and actions of the Division Chief will have profound effect on the workings of the rest of the system. This is not to say that without his solicitous attention to every detail (impossible in any event) the system will break down, but only that his attitude and his personal attention to some details can make it function more successfully than it otherwise could.

If, for example, the Division Chief holds meetings for the purpose of planning production, both his Branch Chiefs and PO's will be better and more surely guided in their efforts. Presumably at such meetings the Division Chief would set forth his own ideas on the general analytical approach to problems, would delineate his own understanding of consumer needs, etc. It would be well also for the Division Chief, at least occasionally, to review both the analyst's draft of an item and the PO's version.

25X1

Otherwise the PO can, and sometimes will, get away with murder. So will the analyst. If the Division Chief proclaims by his attitude toward the duties of the PO, or by his selection of substitute PO's, that he considers the job of minor importance, then something more than the morale of the PO will suffer for it. His attitude toward the whole subject of editing is also very important. If he has a knee jerk reaction that all editing is bad, then false pride of bad authorship will be reinforced, and the difficulties of producing readable prose will be multiplied. If he takes a personal interest in style and presentation--graphics, etc.--then the analyst will be stimulated to try, at least, to do a better and more colorful job of writing and to look for better illustrative material to complement his text. Finally, the Division Chief is the only one who can review the work of the whole Division, to determine whether the Division's resources are being allocated to the right problems, whether too much trivia is being published, whether trends are being pursued as they should be, to decide how often and in what way to hit certain developments, how much attention should be given to research, etc.

8. THE EDITOR The editor is the first truly non-substantive person to read the draft item. This attribute of being non-substantive is something the editor has in common with many of our readers, among them the important ones. If, therefore, various points in the text appear ambiguous or fuzzy to the editor, or for whatever reason do not come through loud and clear, then there is at least a chance--and probably more than a chance--that those readers will react as the editors did. The implication is that on such occasions a revision of some kind is probably in order. It is for this reason that the practice of some PO's of simply erasing changes made by the editors on the ground that they are merely change for change's sake should be discontinued. The PO and his colleagues are at liberty to disagree with the editor, and to suggest alternative changes more satisfactory to themselves, but they should not dismiss the editors' changes out of hand.

If in the course of his operations the editor makes a substantive change, that is unfortunate but certainly

25X1

25X1

[REDACTED]

inadvertent. It is no reason in itself for reversion to the original wording without due consideration of the reason for the editorial change. Language that is both clear and correct must be sought and agreed upon.

The editors exist also to correct the grammatical errors that despite the best efforts of other elements will continue to crop up, to catch mistakes in punctuation and spelling, to eliminate cant and jargon, to see to it that certain standards of style and presentation imposed by OCI and the PDI are maintained, to hack away at excess verbiage, and to perform numerous other jobs connected with processing that need not be gone into here. Experience shows that the better the draft when it reaches the editor and the fewer the errors of a minor nature contained in it the more excellent the overall results are likely to be. The domino theory can apply to editing as well as to S. E. Asia: one editorial change often tumbles over into a host of others. It would seem axiomatic that a corps of professional editors not bogged down in a morass of minor grammatical flubs could take a pedestrian draft and do a lot to impart some zest and punch to it. But at this date we are not very close to such a happy state of affairs.

Weaknesses in the rest of the system magnify the importance of having able editors and the drawbacks of having weak ones. Our stable includes both. As a result, gross grammatical blunders originating with the analyst sometimes go all the way through to surface in their pristine glory in the black CIB. Some night editors fear, they say, to tamper with prose that has been blessed by the CIB Panel. The fear seems to die hard. And what is more pitiable than an editor who introduces mistakes of his own even as he expunges those of the author? It is idle to expect such an individual to effect striking improvements in the style of an article, when he is hard put even to make it correct. Nor does the prevailing attitude toward editing help the situation much. The able editor has to have a lot of backbone to do what he knows needs doing to some of the drafts that hit his desk.

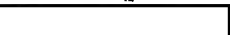

25X1



25X1

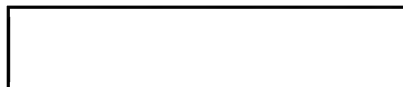
ANNEX I

It may be useful to recall to mind some of the reasons for the invention of the PO system; one doesn't even have to be a member of the distinguished "M Building 31" to remember how things used to be. It was recognized in those early days, as it may be by some even now, that the analysts' prose could occasionally stand a little editing. So an Editorial Division was established to do the work. The members of this group were presumably selected for their editorial skills; they were not necessarily area experts, though some appeared to fancy themselves so. Each geographic or functional Division was lent one of them who served as Division Editor (sometimes rotating) but who owed his allegiance to and had his fitness reports prepared by his own Division Chief; i.e., the chief of the Editorial Division. As many of us can recall, these chiefs, from the ineffable

25X1  down to the quixotic  were not very popular with the substantive Divisions. It was said that they were over-edited, that (not being substantive themselves) they altered the substance of what they touched, that they were arbitrary, that they were prone to change merely for the sake of change, that as the top layer of a many-layered system of editing, they stifled and discouraged the analysts. Ah, yes, the accusations were legion and doubtless well earned, and there was real unhappiness among us. And then R. J. Smith came to us, tore down the evil editorial structure, scattered its inhabitants, and the PA (now PO) system was born.

25X1

The system as originally conceived called for assigning to each Division Chief a senior person who had both a strong substantive background and outstanding editorial ability, whose duties would be to stimulate production and to review and edit the Division's output,--even, it was thought by the Father of the idea, to write a good deal of it. The PA would be the analysts' advocate in easing their work through the publication process and the Office's safeguard against publishing badly written items or pieces substantively distorted by the sputtering quill of an almighty Editor. Editorial layering was to be largely eliminated, though there was retained a small editorial staff existing largely, one would have thought,



25X1



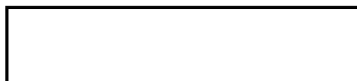
25X1

simply to double-check the PA's work, catch typos, and perhaps impart just that little bit of extra gloss to our prose that might make it look consistently professional.

A fine system in theory, but in practice today--? One Division Chief reportedly looks upon the work of the PO as a comma-pushing, not worth squandering a capable analyst on. Another occasionally assigns to the job a junior individual who seems to have trouble coping effectively with hard-boiled analysts whose writing skills fall more than a little short of office standards. Others entrust the work to persons whose experience has shown time and again are either almost devoid of editorial ability or too overcome with lassitude to employ what they have. On one occasion an individual generally considered to be one of OCI's most inept writers was found serving as a substitute PO. And so it goes. Attached* is a brief series of quotes illustrative of the kind of writing that can and does emerge from the present system, in each case with the full blessing of a PO and presumably his Division Chief. Would anyone in authority around here contend that we could publish this sort of stuff without damaging at least our credibility? It would certainly provoke more serious criticism than the occasional shaft from some ONE grammarian or query from [redacted] that we now draw when we slip up and let some gross illiteracy get into print.

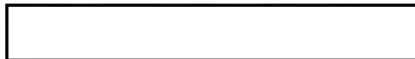
25X1

*Annex II



25X1

25X1



ANNEX II

Examples

--Two good examples exist in memory but unfortunately can't be quoted exactly. One, over which there was an argument with the PO, had a certain political movement "more or less stillborn." The other was a case of "partial emasculation"--one down and one to go, so to speak.

--The Bulgarian Party meeting was purposely scheduled to begin after the long-delayed 24th Soviet Party Congress (which has been announced for 30 March) in order to incorporate any new winds coming from Moscow.

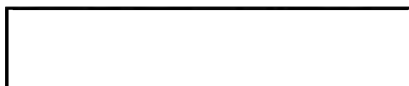
--A combination of clumsy Italian parliamentary tactics and a hypersensitive Yugoslav response snagged improvement of relations between the two nations. (This was the opening sentence of the item.)

--The concern of the authorities is at least in part based on fear that the example of the recent rioting of Polish workers might be followed in East Germany. Winters there are normally hard on the populace, and with an expanding industrial base power shortages are common this time of year. Because of the events in Poland, however, this is not a normal winter. So far the people have responded with discipline and understanding, but not without simultaneously letting the authorities know that it expects better after 21 winters.

--Bonn is in the forefront in its economic negotiations with Yugoslavia, whose trade with West Germany is not included in the figures for Bonn's trade with Communist countries cited above. Belgrade has finally agreed to let a West German firm transfer profits into foreign exchange and to repatriate its entire investment from a joint venture with a Yugoslav enterprise. In return, Bonn will extend its regular investment guarantee to the German firm.

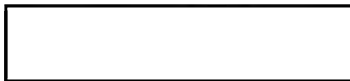
--The Shchekino experiment attempts to increase labor productivity by eliminating surplus workers.

--Egypt may request..a Security Council meeting, an action they had earlier agreed to defer.



25X1

25X1



--EC members may decide not to apply it between their own currencies.

--If signed, President Caldera will come under increasing criticism.

--Opposition among wives of men opposed to President Thieu's opponents was a problem.

--An 11-point criteria...

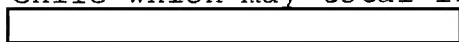
--Originally aimed at the Chinese, who have long dominated Philippine retail trade, few US firms with publicly-held stock can meet the requirements of the Retail Trade Nationalization Act.

--A poor showing in both SC and GA would be taken as a bellweather of chances of US Success on the Chirep issue.

--Rivers south of Leningrad have overflowed their banks.

--Two Cuban ships were to begin immediate loading of 10,000 tons each of raw sugar to begin shipments to Chile which may total 120,000 tons this year, according

25X1



--The Communist Party of Venezuela (PCV) has suffered the most serious fissure in its history. After many months of squabbling, the PCV divided on the issue on how much it should submit to the authority of the Soviet Union.

--The speed and vigor with which Duvalier has acted indicate that he realizes that even his lifetime is limited but that his powers are still formidable. He can also be expected to take steps to safeguard his own present--some-what imperiled by the mere existence of succession plans--and Jean-Claude's future.

--Despite some highly colored allegations the only known link among these people is the likelihood that some were involved together in black market dealings.



25X1

25X1

[REDACTED]

--The suspension from the armed forces, arrest, or promised exiling of the leading military plotters has effectively destroyed Torres' immediate moderate opposition within the military. By extending these measures to potential plotters, the government has warded off an immediate reaction from the military. But this action, coupled with the government's identification of the plotters as "facists," is likely to result in a further demoralization of the military, which is the only group in Bolivia that can maintain stability over the long run. This blow to morale, coming so soon after the demonstrated lack of military unity in the October coup, raises doubts about the inability and the will of the armed forces to react as a unified institution in the event of a serious threat to national stability or order.

--Although the reminiscences seem to have originated in the Soviet Union, with much of them genuing Khrushchev, there is no good information on the hands through which they passed, or on whose initiative were laid the plans for publication.

--Selected allied military vehicles were halted on the Berlin-Helmstedt autobahn on 11-12 January when they failed to accept Soviet demands for changes in the presently used travel documentation.

--Allowed to return in 537 B.C. and to rebuild the Temple, the Jews repeatedly rebelled against the Romans, who conquered Jerusalem in 63 B.C. ultimately leading to their prohibition from entering Jerusalem and the surrounding countryside (from 135 to 205 A.D.).

--Some Arab businessmen in East Jerusalem claim that they have not and will not pay taxes to the Israelis, but because the renewal of business licenses has been linked to the payment of taxes, there are probably more persons who pay taxes than will admit to paying them.

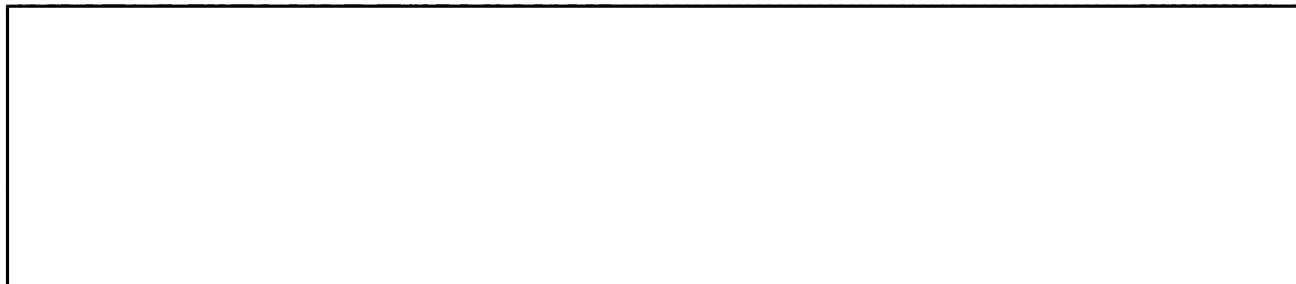
--Sometime next summer, an East Pakistani - dominated civilian government may well replace the present predominately West Pakistani military government, and its viewpoint will differ from past foreign policy.

25X1

25X1



--The Communists must assume, however, that the battle for Long Tieng will be costly and, unless they are ready to commit considerable resources to the effort, with no guarantee of success.



25X1

--The disdain for US materialism...has been fed by the rapid growth of US influence to a level of preponderance.

--There are less striking examples which contribute to this trend of heightening what Latin Americans consider their own ideas and self-interest, such as the need to solve their own problems without US assistance.

--Since the Soviet embassies in both La Paz and Quito are just being established, it is too early to judge which local leftists or Communist groups might be strengthened, but it will certainly be done circumspectly.

* * *

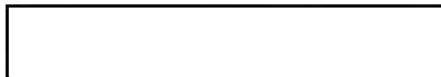
Echeverria's impact even during the first years of his term should provide a helpful clue on whether Mexico's luck is running out. If he can stem the rising dissatisfaction with the hypocrisies of benign authoritarianism and defuse issues such as the political prisoner problem-which seems unlikely but not impossible in view of Mexico's long traditions-he can probably preserve the unity of a "Revolutionary family" from which more and more Mexicans are feeling themselves alienated.

In the Netherlands, beset by serious economic problems, activity is picking up, with all eyes peeled on national elections next spring.

25X1



25X1



As its relations with the USSR cooled and its ties with East Germany deteriorated, Yugoslavia has made an intensive effort to improve its relationships with West Germany, establishing ties for the first time on a personal basis with West German leaders, especially the socialists. The Eastern Europeans unabashedly proclaim that such new ties...

Despite two meetings at the summit with West German leaders, for the immediate future it appears that the East Germans will negotiate desultorily, but at the same time will also try to impede as much as they can progress toward a German settlement.

...while dealing with a restless present situation, he has had to advance convincing if tentative remedies for the future and, at the same time, to analyze, explain, and repudiate the past.

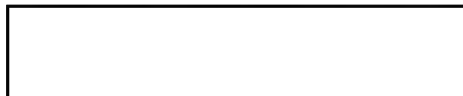
So far, Gierek appears to have had moderate success in his attempts to convince the intellectuals and the students that more can ultimately be done for Poland by their involvement in efforts toward a genuine but measured reform.

...to avoid the kind of alienation that Gomulka reaped in his last years..

The personal intervention of Premier Jaroszewicz in Lodz and of Gierek in textile factories in Bialystok, together with the regime's rapid rescinding of the price rises--a move it had claimed could not be made--suggests that the second wave of strikes was not only more widespread than publicly admitted, but that its potential implications were considered very dangerous by both the Polish and Soviet leaderships.

Supplies of food and fuel are short and cannot get noticeably better before summer, not to mention the fact that such goals as a sharp increase in housing construction will take a long time to achieve.

25X1



25X1



Since December, therefore, the Giersek leadership has condemned the old regime's disregard of the political and social context within which economic reform would have to be implemented, but it has not repudiated the general direction of the reform, which the leadership still considers necessary.

Many observers fear Soviet intervention in Polish affairs, which would wreck their bilateral ties with Warsaw.

Giersek's long residence in France and Belgium and his knowledge of Western languages undoubtedly make him more capable than the parochial Gomulka of understanding the non-Communist world. He must also be mindful, however, that this asset will make Moscow watch him more closely.

Giersek's remarkably smooth takeover came as the result of the combustion of accumulated economic and social grievances on the part of a relatively well-off elite class of skilled workers, ignited by the monumental miscalculation.....He has had to concentrate on putting out fires of labor unrest while trying to get organized (One sentence between these two.)

A relationship of familiarity between Polyansky and Tolstikov has come to light...Soviet aid to the Arabs was given at the expense of the "minimum comfort" of Soviet workers, who would resent their sacrifices all the more if it seemed to go for naught again.

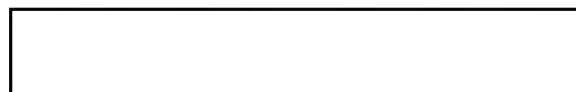
....sweepsteaks...

Exactly one year ago preliminary talks had been concluded on measures to curtail the strategic arms race, marking the beginning of one of the most momentous Soviet-American negotiations since the Second World War.

Throughout much of 1970 the UN, though seized with and anxious to play a part of resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, lacked a meaningful role as the four-power and two-power talks overshadowed the mission of Gunnar Jarring.

In relations with the Arab States, Algeria opposed the US peace plan..

25X1



25X1



The federal victory gave an important stabilizing boost to the entire African state system...

....that gives Kaunda a prominent but largely honorific role to implement the bland platitudes....



25X1

Of the 34 Regional and Poular Force guardposts and outposts overrun throughout South Vietnam, 30 were located in Military Region.4. Most of this action was concentrated in three areas, each consisting of two provinces, that is, in Kien Hoa and Dinh Tuong, in Kien Giang and An Xuyen, and Vinh Binh and Vinh Long provinces.

Enemy battalions operating in the field make somewhat more lucrative targets for the South Vietnamese, whose forces far outnumber the Communists, and the latter do not need large, mobile units for the type of war they are fighting in the delta now.

Shearer and Burnham share a number of similarities, but there are also striking differences between them. The differences, which outweigh the similarities, deal mainly with their basic philosophies,....

The development of the bauxite and tourist industries has helped alleviate unemployment, but the high birth rate continues to produce more workers than the expanding industries can absorb.

Burnham's accommodation of black power has to be moderated somewhat by pressures from the large East Indian population. Shearer has no such pressures, although the opposition party may mouth some of the more moderate slogans of the black radicals. An added pressure Burnham must consider is that not only do the East Indians outnumber blacks, but they also own...

Shearer's objectives behind this policy are aimed at offering investment opportunities....

25X1



25X1

[REDACTED]

Like the dispute over the Federation of the West Indies, Jamaica felt it was being asked to contribute too much....

He, too, will face the prospect, however, that popular pressures for change may outgrow his government's abilities to meet them.

This step is not taken lightly or without some degree of trepidation...

The touchstone of any Panamanian negotiating position begins with the three draft treaties...

Because Mexico's major industry is tourism, bombings, murders, or other terrorist acts in a few principal tourist spots would probably put a fast crimp in the tourist dollar flow.

During that year, Foreign Minister Carrillo Flores made the first visit of a Mexican of that stature--and of any Latin American foreign minister beside from the Cuban--to the USSR.

However, with four prominent Communists continuing to hold cabinet posts these officers are unlikely to be assuaged.

A waiver agreed to by the perspective preference donors is likely to soon be presented to the LDCs for their approval.

Enemy elements, possibly from the nearby North Vietnamese 101D Regiment, succeeded in destroying four large storage tanks at the refinery before it was driven off by local government security elements.

While the hard-liners have charged the US with appeasement and naivete, other representatives have praised the report's reassurance of the US defense commitment while expressing their concern over the wider implications.

25X1

25X1



The military, claiming their action was prompted by the imminence of a leftist-oriented coup, have launched a purge of the officer corps to underscore the threat. This action suggests some realization that they are on shaky constitutional grounds. The purge has increased apprehension within the officer corps, and could make some of them desperate.

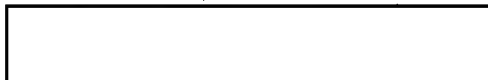
In responding to Soviet interest in more frequent contacts, the French have been seeking to maintain their independence from their Western Allies at a time when they are moving toward closer cooperation with them. Balance, leverage, and capacity for initiative can be sustained through this dialogue with Moscow, while essentials of policy remain the same.

Following protests by political party leaders over the pre-campaign arm-twisting methods of the government's unofficial political vehicle, SEKBER GOLKAR, President Suharto met with leaders of the nine parties and SEKBER GOLKAR on 7 April, apparently to hear and to respond to protests at first hand. Despite their previous criticism, party leaders--once in the presence of the presidential father-figure--were meekness personified. As one of them told the press afterward, "In accordance with Eastern etiquette, we only made veiled allusions."

Statements by the two protagonists appeared within days of each other at the end of March and had every appearance of a bitter personal exchange.

The first year of the administration of President Emilio Medici has been marked by growing confidence and strength and by an attempt to gain a measure of public support.

The Medici government, like its two predecessors, is a military government in the sense that ultimate authority is entirely in the military's hands.



25X1